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THE WASHINGTON POST

# Caution Urged on Aid to Pakistan

*Termination Could Provoke A-Bomb Production, Hill Panels Told*

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior State Department official said yesterday that President Reagan cannot assure Congress with complete reliability that Pakistan is not building a nuclear bomb or that it is not producing weapons-grade uranium.

The official nonetheless urged legislators to exercise "utmost caution and discretion" in its deliberation over termination of U.S. assistance to Pakistan because of U.S. intelligence reports that Pakistan is enriching uranium well above the 5 percent level needed for peaceful purposes.

Testifying before three House subcommittees, Ambassador-at-Large Richard T. Kennedy warned that the United States could "lose the ball game" by provoking Pak-

istan into building and testing a bomb if U.S. aid is cut off. The likely result, he said, could be a nuclear arms race between Pakistan and India that Congress has been seeking to head off.

Kennedy, who is Secretary of State George P. Shultz's chief adviser on nuclear nonproliferation policy, confirmed that the administration believes there has been "some occasion" in which Pakistan has gone beyond the 5 percent enrichment level.

But he argued this should not be taken as a final indicator it intends to build a bomb. "The ball game is lost when in fact they cross the threshold and put together a weapon and in fact explode one," he said.

The issue of what level of uranium enrichment Pakistan has reached at its Kahuta plant has taken crucial importance because of legislation being introduced in the

House by Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) and in the Senate by Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio).

The new measure would require a U.S. aid cutoff to Pakistan after six months unless the president determines "on the basis of the best available information" that Pakistan has not exceeded the 5 percent mark.

The administration has proposed a new six-year, \$4 billion military and economic aid package for Pakistan.

But ever since a Pakistani native was arrested in Philadelphia in July and charged with attempting the illegal export of nuclear-related equipment to Pakistan, Congress and the White House have struggled to reach agreement on the issue of Pakistan's nuclear intentions before any new assistance can flow. Mujaheddin resistance groups fighting the Soviet army in Afghanistan

receive massive U.S. arms aid through Pakistan.

Under questioning from Solarz and Rep. Howard E. Wolpe (D-Mich.), Kennedy acknowledged that the administration has "some reservations" that Pakistan's recent assurances it is not enriching above the 5 percent level could meet "the standards of reliability" Congress may now insist upon.

Asked what he understood by this standard, Kennedy replied, "The highest level of assurance, without any doubt at all."

Congressional criteria demand that the president receive "reliable assurances" that a nation is not developing nuclear weapons in order for him to waive a congressional ban on aid to countries suspected of obtaining nuclear enrichment materials or equipment.

Such assurances imply international on-site inspection, which Pakistan refuses to accept unless India also accepts it.

"We believe that the standard which would be required for a presidential determination would perhaps be of an order that we simply could not [fulfill]," Kennedy said.

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# Pakistan A-Project Upsets Superpowers

By Bob Woodward  
and Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Staff Writers

The United States and the Soviet Union have engaged in some unpublicized tough talk during the past month over growing indications that Pakistan's nuclear program has moved far along the path toward production of an atomic bomb, according to administration sources.

The discussion was generated by a direct and unusually tough Soviet warning to Pakistan about its nuclear activities, the sources said, including a charge that the Pakistanis are on the verge of constructing a nuclear bomb, which Moscow indicated it would not tolerate.

The Reagan administration, on learning of the warning, responded with a private message to Moscow reiterating the strong U.S. commitment to Pakistan's security. One official described the message as extremely grave and said that Washington, in effect, told Moscow to keep "hands off" Pakistan.

A well-placed intelligence source said that Central Intelligence Agency analysis shows that Pakistan has or soon will have the capacity to build a bomb, despite official denials by Pakistan. Sources said long-standing Pakistani nuclear efforts have increased this year. According to one account, it is just a matter of assembling components.

The security of Pakistan as well as its highly secretive nuclear program are likely to be discussed during the visit of Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, who is to arrive late today on his first official visit to Washington. [Details on Page A13].

Junejo, whose civilian government was installed last Dec. 30 af-

ter nearly nine years of military rule, is to meet President Reagan Wednesday morning and see other senior administration figures as well as members of Congress before departing Friday.

Pakistan is particularly sensitive for both superpowers because of its geography bordering Afghanistan and because nearly all of the U.S. covert assistance to the Afghanistan resistance fighting the Soviet army flows through Pakistan, with Pakistani permission.

The Soviets have issued a number of stern warnings to Pakistan to stop that flow in the past several years, and Soviet warplanes based in Afghanistan have repeatedly crossed the border into Pakistani airspace, bringing protests from Washington as well as Islamabad.

The immediate impetus for the recent Soviet warning to Pakistan is believed by Washington officials to have been the visit to Moscow in mid-June by Indian Foreign Minister P. Shiv Shankar, who reportedly complained vociferously about Pakistan's nuclear efforts.

Moscow's warning, which was delivered by the Soviet ambassador in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad, also covered the Afghanistan issues. It was considered particularly important, though, because of the nuclear aspect, which had not been a matter of urgency in other recent Moscow-Islamabad exchanges.

Pakistan's well-advanced nuclear program, which goes back well over a decade, is a touchy issue in Washington.

The Carter administration strongly condemned Pakistan's secret efforts to build an atomic bomb

and cut off U.S. aid to Pakistan because of them.

The Reagan administration, which began a \$3.2 billion Pakistan aid program in 1981, has been required by Congress to certify annually that Pakistan does not "possess" an atomic bomb. A stronger assurance may be required to persuade Congress to approve a new \$4 billion U.S. aid program negotiated with Pakistan this March.

White House national security affairs adviser John M. Poindexter is concerned, according to sources, that the administration may not be able to certify to Congress as required in October that Pakistan does not "possess" a weapon. High-level meetings have reportedly been held in recent days to assess the Pakistani nuclear program in light of the most recent U.S. intelligence.

"There is no question that [Pakistan] has the bomb or will soon," a congressional source said.

Leonard S. Spector, an expert on nuclear nonproliferation issues at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, reported in November that Pakistan is "at the threshold of becoming a nuclear-weapons state." Spector said yesterday that more recent information, which he said he could not describe in detail, suggests that "something very serious has happened" in the Pakistani nuclear program since last winter.

In March the Foreign Report of The Economist of London cited reports that Pakistan had succeeded in enriching uranium to 30 percent at its heavily guarded atomic plant at Kahuta. While this would be well short of the 90 percent level needed to make a bomb, such an achievement would far exceed the 5 percent level reportedly cited in a confidential letter from Reagan to Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq in September 1984 as the highest enrichment level acceptable to the United States.